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General Assembly

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22 February 1990

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 635th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 16 February 1990, at 9.45 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. RANA (Nepal)

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Adoption of the agenda

Election of the Bureau of the Special Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

1. The agenda was adopted.

2. The CHAIRMAN said that the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the bans on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other organizations were encouraging steps on the way to creating a climate for negotiations in South Africa. However, as Nelson Mandela had emphasized, to lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process leading to an end to apartheid. Pressure should continue to be brought to bear on the white minority régime and attempts to relax sanctions should be counteracted until the objectives set forth in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, were fulfilled.

3. He wished to express the Special Committee's gratitude and appreciation to the President of the General Assembly and outgoing Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria for his tireless work and dedication in guiding the Special Committee's efforts to end apartheid, and for the leading role which he and his country had played in supporting the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. The Special Committee wished to assure Mr. Garba that it would continue to do everything possible to hasten the elimination of apartheid and to help create conditions conducive to the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a country where democracy, freedom and racial harmony prevailed.

4. He wished to welcome the new Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari. He was confident that Nigeria would continue to play an important and active role in the work of the Special Committee and that Mr. Gambari, a well-known scholar and experienced diplomat, would be a source of inspiration to the Committee.

ELECTION OF THE BUREAU OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

5. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) said that while his country welcomed with joy the release of Nelson Mandela, which was an important step in the long march to freedom in South Africa, much remained to be done. Recent action by Mr. de Klerk, including the release of Nelson Mandela, undoubtedly inspired confidence and could create a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement. Until the objectives set forth in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa were fulfilled, however, any relaxation of pressure on the apartheid régime would be premature. Under the circumstances, the Special Committee had an even greater responsibility to discharge its mandate by executing its programme of work for 1990. Strong leadership was needed for that task and, with that in mind, he wished to nominate Mr. Ibrahim Gambari as Chairman of the Special Committee. With his vast political experience and dynamic leadership abilities, Mr. Gambari would contribute greatly to the Committee's efforts at that critical juncture.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

6. At the same time, he wished to propose that Mr. Rana (Nepal), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian SSR), and Mr. St.-Phard (Haiti) be re-elected as Vice-Chairmen of the Committee and that Mr. Gupta (India) be re-elected as Rapporteur.

7. Lastly, he wished to pay tribute to the able and distinguished leadership of Mr. Joseph Garba, who had successfully guided the efforts of the Special Committee since 1984.

8. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic) welcomed the new Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Mr. Gambari, and pledged him the full co-operation of his delegation. He was confident that Nigeria and his own country would continue their common struggle for the eradication of apartheid.

9. He seconded the nominations made by the representative of Algeria. At that important stage in the struggle of the South African people to build a non-racial, democratic society, strong leadership was needed in the Special Committee. He was confident that, under the guidance of Mr. Gambari and with the assistance of Mr. Rana, Mr. St.-Phard and Mr. Oudovenko, the Committee would contribute to the implementation of the principles set forth in the Declaration adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. He looked forward to co-operating with the new Chairman and the other members of the Bureau in that effort.

10. He expressed sincere appreciation to Mr. Garba, outgoing Chairman of the Special Committee, for his wisdom and his tireless efforts in the struggle against apartheid.

11. Mr. GARRO (Peru) also seconded the nominations made by the representative of Algeria. Mr. Gambari's political and diplomatic experience would be a valuable asset to the Committee. Judging from the situation in South Africa, it was clearly premature to speak of an end to the struggle against apartheid. Apartheid was still very much alive and the peace movement was only just gaining momentum. International efforts for the eradication of apartheid must therefore continue and all possible pressure must be brought to bear on the South African Government.

12. He welcomed Mr. Gambari and paid tribute to Mr. Garba for his outstanding leadership of the Special Committee.

13. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Special Committee decided to elect Mr. Gambari (Nigeria) as Chairman and to re-elect Mr. St.-Phard (Haiti), Mr. Rana (Nepal) and Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian SSR) as Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Gupta (India) as Rapporteur.

14. It was so decided.

15. The CHAIRMAN said that, following consultations in the Working Group, it had been proposed that the election of the chairmen of the subsidiary bodies of the Special Committee be postponed to the Committee's next meeting. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to that proposal.

16. It was so decided.

17. Mr. GUPTA (India) expressed confidence that, under Mr. Gambari's leadership, the Special Committee would fulfil its mandate most effectively.

18. Mr. MAKAREVITCH (Ukrainian SSR) said that Mr. Gambari was an experienced diplomat and would undoubtedly make a great contribution to the Committee's efforts to bring about an early, peaceful end to apartheid. He thanked Mr. Garba for his tireless work at the helm of the Special Committee and pledged his country's best efforts to help the Committee fulfil its mandate.

19. Mr. ST.-PHARD (Haiti) assured the new Chairman of the Special Committee of his delegation's full co-operation. With his excellent background and skills, Mr. Gambari would continue a job well done by his predecessor, Mr. Garba. He reiterated his country's unswerving commitment to the advent of a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa.

20. Mr. PIETERSEN (Observer, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)) recalled the efforts made by Mr. Gambari to assist PAC and welcomed his election as Chairman of the Special Committee. He was confident that Mr. Gambari would continue his vigorous opposition of apartheid and hoped that he would be the last person to serve as Chairman of the Special Committee.

21. He paid tribute to Mr. Garba, who had always been in the forefront of the struggle for liberation and under whose leadership the General Assembly, at its sixteenth special session, had adopted by consensus a Declaration which had sent a powerful message to the oppressors of the black majority in South Africa.

The meeting rose at 10.45 a.m.

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ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 636th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 16 February 1990, at 10.45 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria)

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Special meeting to mark the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela after 27 years of imprisonment

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

SPECIAL MEETING TO MARK THE RELEASE OF MR NELSON MANDELA AFTER 27 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT

Statement by the Chairman

1. The CHAIRMAN said that after 27 years of unjust imprisonment, Nelson Mandela had emerged with humility and generosity of spirit. He had not talked about revenge or fear, but of reconciliation and hope. His country was still not free, but it was entering the dawn of an era in which he would play a leading role. He had become a symbol of resistance to oppression and injustice and his continuing profound influence would in due course lead his countrymen to freedom and democracy.

2. The Special Committee against Apartheid acknowledged the encouraging steps taken by Mr. de Klerk and urged him to take the additional measures needed to create a climate conducive to negotiations. All political prisoners should be released and exiles should be allowed to return home. The state of emergency should be lifted, troops removed from the townships and repressive legislation repealed.

3. In its Declaration on Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa the General Assembly had appealed for the building of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. That document was unprecedented in that it had been adopted by consensus and created the framework for a peaceful settlement. It also bound Member States to take every measure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid, and reflected the commitment of the international community not to relax existing measures until there was a clear indication of profound and irreversible change in South Africa. The importance of such changes must be measured not only by Governments' own standards but also in accordance with the criteria laid down in the Declaration, and the Special Committee regretted in that connection the recent decision by the United Kingdom Government to relax a number of measures unilaterally. While the Special Committee encouraged efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, it felt that any relaxation of existing measures was entirely premature because the process of change was only just beginning.

Statement by the President of the General Assembly

4. Mr. GARBA (President of the General Assembly) paid tribute to all the anti-apartheid crusaders who had contributed to the welcome release of Mr. Nelson Mandela from prison, and commended Mr. de Klerk for his courageous action. Much remained to be done before South Africa could be considered a non-racial and democratic society, however. He was reassured by the constructive response of the South African Government to the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and was optimistic that Mr. de Klerk would continue to resist pressures from the extreme right. He was convinced that Mr. Mandela, working as a free man, would be a prominent ally of Mr. de Klerk's administration and of all well-meaning people in their efforts to find a lasting solution to apartheid.

Statement by the Secretary-General

5. The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that, throughout the years of his long imprisonment, Nelson Mandela had shown courage and an unwavering commitment to the goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Mr. Mandela's release was not an end in itself but a milestone in the democratic process which must lead to the liberation of the people of South Africa from the system of apartheid.

6. He commended the constructive role played by President de Klerk and hoped that he would continue unflaggingly to advance the democratic process in South Africa. In order to facilitate that process, there was a need for a climate conducive to negotiations whose goals should be the eradication of apartheid and the drafting of a new democratic constitution for South Africa.

7. In its Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the General Assembly expressed its strong desire to provide guidance and support to all those who were truly committed to the quest for a new South Africa. Mr. Mandela and his colleagues should now be able to play a crucial role in that process.

8. It was finally possible that, working together, the people of South Africa would be able to establish a non-racial democracy with equal rights for all. That had been a primary aim of the United Nations and its realization was now within reach. With wisdom, the immense resources and talents of all the peoples of southern Africa could be mobilized to transform the future prospects of the region. In the great challenge that lay ahead, the United Nations had a responsibility and a duty to be of all possible assistance.

Statement by the representative of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

9. Mr. MOUSSA (Observer for Egypt), speaking on behalf of the States members of OAU, said that, while the release of Nelson Mandela was no trivial or ephemeral event, it was also not the end of the road for the extremely grave problem that the apartheid régime in South Africa represented for mankind. The meeting being held to mark that event was a reaffirmation of the determination of those present, as well as that of the international community that they represented, to continue the struggle until such time as the apartheid régime in South Africa was finally eliminated and a democratic State was proclaimed on the basis of majority rule and the equality of all citizens without distinction as to colour, race or religion.

10. The world was entering a new phase of international relations and one which showed that the time had come for the ideologies of the past, which had made it possible for policies of polarization, colonization, hegemony, aggression, occupation and racism to subsist and flourish, to disappear from the contemporary lexicon and to be replaced by openness, democracy, co-operation and the mechanisms of dialogue and negotiation. Only thus could just solutions be found that were based on the full and sincere implementation of the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. Moussa, Observer, Egypt)

11. The African continent was going through a historic period in which hopes abounded for a future in which the banners of independence would be raised in Namibia and the winds of change would blow in South Africa. Those hopes must not, however, distract the international community from the true state of affairs. Racism continued to be the official policy of South Africa and any measure short of its complete abolition would therefore be insufficient to prevent the South African régime from reaping a reward that it did not deserve.

12. The release of Nelson Mandela and his return to the struggle were in themselves an event that called for celebration. Despite the negative factors that remained, the Egyptian Government wished to express its satisfaction at the step taken, to offer its congratulations to the great African freedom fighter and to commend all the efforts made to secure his release.

13. In his capacity as current Chairman of OAU, President Hosni Mubarak had sent a letter to Nelson Mandela congratulating him on his release and the lifting of the ban on his activities, which were to be considered a victory for human rights everywhere, and expressing the solidarity of the Egyptian people and of all the peoples of Africa with the people of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and democracy. The letter stated that the victory of Nelson Mandela had been the outcome of the sacrifices made by the great people of South Africa, who had been inspired with the greatest patriotism and devotion by the example of his sublime spirit and epic endurance. It went on to say that the success achieved must be considered only the beginning of the struggle for complete freedom, which OAU, the States of Africa and all free men would continue to support until such time as the people of South Africa were able to rid themselves of the domination of racism and to enjoy freedom and human dignity.

Statement by the representative of the United Democratic Front

14. The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Patrick Lekota had become Permanent Organizer for the South African Students' Organization in 1974. For his opposition to apartheid, he had been detained on various occasions. In the mid-1970s, he had been charged under the Terrorism Act and, following a 17-month trial, convicted to six years' imprisonment on Robben Island. In 1983, he had become National Publicity Secretary for the United Democratic Front. In June 1985, he had stood trial, together with other United Democratic Front officials, accused by the racist régime of high treason. The trial, well known as the Delmas treason trial, had been the longest running political trial in South Africa's history.

15. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Lekota (United Democratic Front) took a place at the Committee table.

16. Mr. LEKOTA (United Democratic Front) thanked the Committee for its support and, in particular, for its sensitivity to the Delmas treason trial in which he had been personally involved. He also wished to convey the gratitude of his co-defendants, many of whom would never have the opportunity to thank the Committee personally, and of the many South Africans stranded on Robben Island or in South

(Mr. Lekota)

African prisons. Lastly, he wished to add the thanks of his comrades who had died at the hands of hit squads and the security police.

17. The release of Nelson Mandela and some other political prisoners marked the beginning of a major task for both the people of South Africa and the international community. The South African Government had released Nelson Mandela because of international pressure, and the international community must therefore continue its efforts to persuade South Africa to fulfil the remaining conditions which would create a climate for a political solution. Thousands of political prisoners had yet to be freed, and exiles must be allowed to return home with guarantees that they would not be persecuted. If the de Klerk Government wished to earn the goodwill of the South African people, it must lift the state of emergency and repeal sections 28 and 29 of the Internal Security Act. The South African régime must also be pressured to negotiate with the liberation movements with a view to drawing up a democratic constitution.

18. Those who wanted to relax international pressure on the South African Government were committing a serious error. Pressure must continue if the de Klerk Government was to take further steps towards democratizing South Africa. The National Party as such was incapable of dismantling apartheid because it owed its very existence to that institution. It had been the National Party which had introduced the 1930 Land Act and the 1936 Land and Trust Act which had made it impossible for black South Africans to own land on 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa. Black South Africans were unable to own their own homes even when they had money, because the Group Areas Act remained in force and the Government had indicated that it was not prepared to abolish it.

19. Education in South Africa continued to be discriminatory as a result of the South African Government's policy of "Bantu education" which, at best, prepared the vast majority of South Africans for work as menials. There was no truth to the assertion that the presence of multinational corporations in South Africa benefited black people. Multinational corporations could not benefit black people since, without the necessary training, black people were unable to take advantage of whatever meaningful jobs were created by those corporations. Such enterprises continued to provide jobs for the better trained white South Africans.

20. Apartheid could be dismantled only by a new government which would be born out of a process of negotiations. It was therefore extremely important that the international community continue to pressure the South African Government to negotiate with the liberation movements. For its part, the United Democratic Front pledged to work towards the establishment of a new South African government which would be worthy of the tireless efforts and support of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Statements by the chairmen of the regional groups

21. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Observer for Madagascar), speaking on behalf of the Group of African States, said that, while the international community had not always been in complete agreement on the question of South Africa, for once Heads of State and government officials throughout the world had been unanimous in recognizing the impact of recent events on the political and social evolution of South Africa. A page had been turned and the end of the least glorious chapter in African history was at hand. However, it would be unfair to draw the hasty conclusion that a particular person, initiative or policy deserved the credit for those events. That was a task for historians and political analysts. For the moment, it was clear that the decisions taken by the South African Government would never have created such an international response had it not been for Nelson Mandela.

22. By force of circumstance, Nelson Mandela had become a myth because younger generations of South Africans had known him only by a vague portrait which had been blurred by time and systematic disinformation, while conservative and reactionary circles had sought to perpetuate that distortion in order to convince themselves that nothing would ever come of the struggle of the oppressed black majority. Fortunately, times had changed. As apartheid began to lose its relevance and support, and as liberation and protest movements became more credible and effective, Nelson Mandela had become a symbol of the dignity of the black man, a symbol of constancy in the face of hardship and temptation, a symbol of the many-faceted struggle against apartheid and a symbol of the longing of black South Africans for recognition of their political, economic, social and cultural rights. Most importantly, Nelson Mandela embodied the hope of the current generation of South Africans to live in a just, democratic and non-racial society.

23. Before that hope could be realized, however, much remained to be done. The state of emergency could no longer be justified and political prisoners and alleged criminals must be released. The Land Act which was the basis for the Group Areas Act, the Population Act and the Registration laws on Bantu education, the Bantustans and the tricameral parliamentary system must be repealed. Any negotiations on the repeal of those laws must not result in partial reforms which safeguarded the rights of a minority.

24. The Group of African States hoped that negotiations between the Pretoria régime and the South African liberation movements would take place according to the framework provided by the Harare Declaration, which had been endorsed by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session. It was impossible to predict how long such negotiations would last. There had been talk of 10 years, 5 years or even shorter periods. Optimism must therefore be tempered. The Group of African States continued to believe that diplomatic, economic and political pressure must be maintained until the advent of a new South Africa that was in keeping with the aspirations of its entire people. Political realism dictated that, having come so close to achieving its objectives, the international community should not play into the hands of diversionists and those who called for leniency towards South Africa.

25. Mr. GHAKEKHAN (India) speaking on behalf of the Group of Asian States, expressed great satisfaction and joy at the release of Nelson Mandela, who symbolized the struggle of the South African people against injustice and oppression and personified their courage and determination. Nelson Mandela had been fighting for the total eradication of apartheid and for a society in which all would live together in harmony and enjoy equal opportunities. He had even been prepared to die for that ideal.

26. While the Asian States welcomed the other measures recently announced by the South African Government with a view to creating a climate conducive to a democratic, non-racial society, they regretted the fact that the state of emergency remained in force, that apartheid laws were still on the books and that some political prisoners had yet to be released. Much remained to be done before the ultimate goal of the complete eradication of apartheid was achieved.

27. The Asian States hoped that the South African Government would fulfil the remaining pre-conditions for creating a climate conducive to serious negotiations with the true representatives of the people of South Africa, and that such negotiations would aim at the complete elimination of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote under a common voters' roll, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa within a specified time frame.

28. Mr. PAWLAK (Observer for Poland), speaking on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, expressed satisfaction at the release of Nelson Mandela, the longest-serving prisoner of the apartheid system. Over many years and against all odds, Mr. Mandela had been a towering figure in the struggle of the black population of South Africa against the apartheid system. Through his courage and conviction and despite his isolation in prison, he had been a constant source of hope for democratic change for his long-suffering black compatriots. It was striking that, after many years of incarceration, he had so much to give to his people and seemed to have no rancour for his opponents. The winds of change had reached South Africa, which no longer resembled the country that had closed the prison gates behind Mr. Mandela 27 years earlier.

29. As Mr. Mandela had stated in his address to the people on the day of his unconditional release, apartheid had no future. It was being brought to an end by the mass campaign of defiance and other actions by the oppressed people of South Africa. However, it should be noted that the South African Government was also showing some signs of realism, as evidenced by its decision to lift the bans on ANC and other opposition organizations, and by its decision to release some political prisoners.

30. However welcome those measures might be, they were just the first steps in the process of dismantling apartheid and building a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa. The Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session, was of crucial importance in bringing that goal closer. The Group of Eastern European States fully supported the objectives set out in the

(Mr. Pawlak, Observer, Poland)

Declaration and believed that the international community should not relent in its efforts until South Africa had become a united, non-racial and democratic State. The attainment of those objectives would also represent the achievement of Mr. Mandela's goal in life.

31. Miss THORPE (Trinidad and Tobago), speaking on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, said that, in his address at Cape Town City Hall on Sunday, 11 February, Nelson Mandela had offered his thanks not only to the millions of his compatriots but also to those in every corner of the globe who had campaigned tirelessly for his release. For years, the Special Committee had made his release one of the principal goals of its struggle against the apartheid régime, in recognition of the fact that Mr. Mandela's imprisonment both represented the unjust incarceration of a heroic nationalist and symbolized the virtual enslavement of a people on the dubious grounds of racial superiority.

32. Nelson Mandela was now "free", to quote the South African Government. However, Mr. Mandela himself had declared that "freedom" to be compromised by two factors. First, many other political prisoners and detainees remained in prison, despite the international community's insistent demands that they too be released immediately and unconditionally. Secondly, while Mr. Mandela had been released from the narrow confines of his prison farm, he remained in the larger prison of a society that continued to deny him, and millions of his fellow South Africans, such basic freedoms as the right to vote or to choose where to live.

33. Certainly, Nelson Mandela's release could be interpreted as a signal that Pretoria was serious about dismantling apartheid, but much still remained to be done. The régime must be challenged to lift the state of emergency and withdraw all troops from the townships; to dismantle the tricameral parliamentary system; and to repeal the Population Registration Act, the Internal Security Act, the Group Areas Act and all other pillars of apartheid.

34. The Latin American and Caribbean States joined the rest of the international community in celebrating Nelson Mandela's triumphant release. They also applauded his courage and his unswerving commitment to the principles of freedom, justice and equality, principles that had continued to govern his actions even while he had been in prison. Mr. Mandela had urged that the sanctions against racist South Africa that had played such a critical role in securing his release should be maintained until South Africa was well on the way to becoming a free, non-racial, united and democratic society. The international community owed it to him, and to all those of many races who had joined in the struggle over the years, to heed that plea.

35. Mr. REINO (Observer for Portugal), speaking on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States, expressed profound joy at Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years of imprisonment. Mr. Mandela's courage and determination during his long years in prison had been the recognized symbol of freedom throughout the world for those struggling for the eradication of apartheid. The Group of Western European and Other States sincerely hoped that his release and the steps announced by

(Mr. Reino, Observer, Portugal)

President de Klerk on 2 February would help to create the necessary climate for negotiations, which must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid by peaceful means and the establishment of a new, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

Statement by the representative of the African National Congress

36. Mr. MAFOLE (Observer, African National Congress (ANC)) said that Nelson Mandela's release was a momentous event that justified the principles and purposes of the United Nations. His release represented more than the mere opening of prison doors for one man; seen in its proper political context, it ushered in a new dawn for all the people of South Africa and, therefore, for the peoples of the entire southern African region.

37. Both on behalf of ANC and on behalf of Nelson Mandela and his family, he wished to express deep appreciation to the United Nations, particularly the Special Committee and the Centre Against Apartheid, for the relentless campaign that had been waged over the years for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. Nelson Mandela's release was a direct result of the struggle waged by the people of South Africa and of the tireless efforts of the international community.

38. For the first time in 27 years, Nelson Mandela had been able to rejoin his wife and children, who over the many lonely years had not only proved impervious to brutal racist repression but had in their own right joined the front ranks, along with their compatriots, in the struggle for the total eradication of apartheid. Indeed, the name of Winnie Mandela had over the years ceased to be associated solely with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela and had itself come to symbolize great courage and determination. For the first time in 27 years, Nelson Mandela had been able to rejoin his colleagues, with whom he had shared decades of trials and tribulations as they sought to rid the world of apartheid. After 27 years of concerted effort by his captors to obliterate his memory from the South African body politic, Nelson Mandela had emerged from captivity not only larger than life but, in a real sense, as his erstwhile gaolers' hope for the end of the crisis currently gripping South Africa and for the creation of a new order in the country.

39. On leaving prison, however, Nelson Mandela had simply entered the larger prison that was South Africa itself. The apartheid régime was still very much in place. The deprivation suffered by the majority of the people of South Africa in the land of plenty still persisted; South African prisons were still bursting at the seams with numerous patriots, whose only crime had been to dare to aspire to justice in the country of their birth; and the shooting down of South Africa's sons and daughters in Soweto and other townships was still the order of the day. Even as people in Cape Town had been rejoicing at Nelson Mandela's release, precious lives had been lost when the South African police had opened fire on the crowds.

(Mr. Mafole)

40. The events unfolding in South Africa, particularly the steps taken by Mr. de Klerk, had however been rightly characterized as offering hope for the resolution of the conflict in that country. The Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa outlined in no uncertain terms the South African régime's responsibilities for creating a climate conducive to negotiations, and had no doubt contributed in no small measure to the steps taken by de Klerk.

41. The fact remained that those steps, however bold, could not by any standard be seen as an adequate response to the demands of the international community as reflected in the Declaration. For instance, a cursory glance at the measures announced by de Klerk revealed that: while the South African régime had undertaken to release political prisoners, prisoners who were regarded as having committed violent crimes were not to be released and, according to estimates, the category to be released accounted for only a quarter of the 2,500 political prisoners in South Africa; while ANC and other political organizations were ostensibly unbanned, only those exiles who had not committed violent crimes would be granted safe conduct into South Africa; while detention without trial would not be allowed for periods exceeding six months, it would be possible for a person to be detained without trial for six months, released and then immediately redetained for another six-month period; and while restrictions on the media had, in theory, been lifted, television cameras were still barred from focusing on what were generally regarded as situations of unrest. Lastly, the state of emergency was still in force.

42. If the South African régime was really serious about negotiations, it would have to address in a more satisfactory manner the concerns of the majority of the people of South Africa and of the international community, concerns that were embodied both in the Harare Declaration and in the United Nations Declaration. Only when those concerns were met would a climate conducive to negotiations be created in South Africa, and only in the context of genuine negotiations would a new, democratic South Africa emerge from the ruins of apartheid.

43. While acknowledging the jubilation at the unbanning of ANC and the release of one of its foremost leaders, he wished to warn against a mood of euphoria that could lead to complacency. Certain powerful voices were calling for the relaxation of sanctions against the apartheid régime as a reward for its undoubtedly positive but none the less insufficient measures. Such calls were counter-productive, since the only language that the apartheid régime understood was the language of pressure. If the people of Namibia were now poised for their hard-earned independence, there could be no question that the pressures brought to bear on the régime had been largely responsible for bringing it to the negotiating table and thus facilitating the process of Namibian independence. To paraphrase Nelson Mandela himself, the lifting of sanctions against Pretoria at the current stage would abort the process of achieving democratic change in South Africa.

44. The people of South Africa must continue their struggle to bring about long-awaited changes. The peoples of the world, for their part, still had an obligation to help bring about the elimination of apartheid. Sanctions imposed by

(Mr. Mafole)

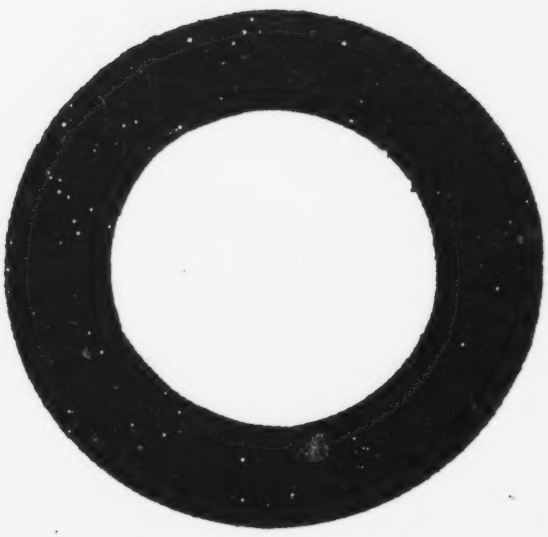
the international community against the apartheid régime remained the most effective and peaceful weapon for its elimination and must therefore be not only maintained but also intensified. Only thus could it be guaranteed that the Pretoria régime would be locked into a path leading towards negotiations. ANC reaffirmed its unswerving commitment to the pursuit of a negotiated settlement in South Africa. However, such a commitment should not be misconstrued as the abandoning of struggle. For, to paraphrase Nelson Mandela once again, the people of South Africa had cherished the ideal of freedom in the hope of realizing it, but it was an ideal for which they were prepared to die.

Statement by the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

45. Mr. PIETERSEN (Observer, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)) said that PAC welcomed the release of Comrade Mandela who, with other political prisoners, had languished in South Africa's racist gaols for many years. The President of PAC had, upon his own release from gaol in November 1988, demanded the unconditional release of Jeff Masemola and Nelson Mandela. However, while welcoming Nelson Mandela's release, PAC was keenly aware that the South African régime was not doing the dispossessed and oppressed African majority, who lived in the wider prison of the racist Republic of South Africa, any favours.

46. Mr. Mandela, who was known as a generous, kind and articulate man and a wise teacher and leader, had been released into a vacuum, unlike political prisoners in other parts of the world, who had been released in order to take over the reins of government. Mr. Mandela and other South African political prisoners were going back to life in the ghetto of Soweto and other townships. Nothing had changed during their years of imprisonment, except that there were more Draconian laws in force now than when they had first entered prison. Nelson Mandela was still not free. The international community must not relax the pressures that had compelled South Africa to release Comrade Mandela and other political prisoners. Since all the pillars of apartheid were still in place and intact, the international community must continue to isolate the Pretoria régime culturally, economically and otherwise, until a non-racial democratic society was established on the basis of the universal principle of one person, one vote, with a single-chamber Parliament.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.



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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 637th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 9 March 1990, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

1. The agenda was adopted.

SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

2. The CHAIRMAN said that the latest press reports on the grave situation in the so-called "homelands" in South Africa indicated that the use of force by the security police against demonstrators had resulted in several deaths and hundreds of injuries. The situation had also been aggravated by the threat made by the South African Minister of Law and Order to take steps under the state of emergency to crush any resistance. Those events highlighted the bankruptcy of the "homelands" policy pursued by the apartheid régime. At a time when the international community was pressing for the lifting of the state of emergency and the removal of South African troops and police from townships, the Pretoria régime was contemplating sending them into those areas. Events in South Africa could unfold rapidly and the Special Committee should always be in a position to respond accordingly.

3. The winds of change had finally reached South Africa after the independence of Namibia. The de Klerk Government had shown some signs of realism, as evidenced by its decision to lift the bans on political organizations and to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. Those encouraging steps should be followed by the prompt implementation of the remaining measures, as set forth in the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, required for the establishment of an appropriate climate for negotiations.

4. In spite of the undoubted importance of the recent positive developments in South Africa, however, the question of political prisoners who remained in gaol and other important issues had not been addressed by the Pretoria régime. In that connection, he stressed the need to address the situation of the political prisoners who were in their third week of hunger strike. In order to make progress towards genuine negotiations leading to a united, non-racial and democratic country, South Africa should release all political prisoners, allow those in exile to return safely to their homes, lift the state of emergency, remove troops from the townships and repeal repressive legislation, such as the Internal Security Act. The Committee welcomed the decision of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) to meet with the representatives of the Pretoria régime to discuss the removal of all obstacles to negotiations.

5. Sanctions remained the international community's most effective and peaceful weapon for the elimination of apartheid. The lifting of sanctions against apartheid at that stage would undermine the progress towards democratic change in South Africa. The use of sanctions had been one of the factors which had forced the apartheid régime to come to the negotiating table. As never before, concerted

(The Chairman)

and effective measures were needed to hasten the demise of apartheid. In conclusion, he reminded certain Governments that were in favour of relaxing sanctions at that stage that they had made a commitment, under the Declaration recently adopted by the General Assembly, not to relax existing measures until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes.

6. Mr. MASHABELA (Observer, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)) said that South Africa was at a crossroads. Various sectors of the white population had lost faith in the ability of the ruling white minority party to ensure peace and to bring about a lasting solution to the problems resulting from apartheid. There was also a desire on the part of the de Klerk régime and the ruling white minority clique to ease the pain caused by isolation and sanctions. Nevertheless, the Pretoria régime must demonstrate its commitment to the elimination of apartheid through action, not mere pronouncements.

7. The international community must continue to be guided by the programme of action set forth in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and other relevant General Assembly resolutions. It was also necessary to harness the renewed awareness of the situation in South Africa and the energy generated by the release of Nelson Mandela as a potent non-violent weapon in the struggle to put an end to apartheid.

8. The question of political prisoners in South Africa must be resolved before negotiations could take place. Although 750 political prisoners had been released, there were still over 2,000 in prison. Furthermore, at least 300 political prisoners at the notorious Robben Island maximum security prison had been staging a hunger strike since 26 February 1990 designed to win their freedom and focus international attention on Pretoria's narrow definition of a political prisoner. The white minority régime had decided to treat only a small number of prisoners as political prisoners and to treat the rest as common criminals. He appealed to the international community to do everything possible to intervene on behalf of the hunger strikers in order to resolve their situation as quickly as possible.

9. In order to create an appropriate political climate for negotiations, South Africa must lift the state of emergency, allow all exiles to return safely to South Africa and lift all restrictions on the media. In short, it must create a free and open political environment as an essential prerequisite for negotiations aimed at the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial, democratic State. He called upon the international community to strengthen existing measures against the apartheid régime. ANC condemned the decision by the United Kingdom Government partially lifting sanctions, which would only undermine efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement, and he urged the Government of Hungary to return to its policy of opposition to apartheid. Lastly, he called upon the Government of Israel to desist from its nefarious collusion with the racist régime in South Africa.

10. Mr. PIETERSEN (Observer, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)) said that while the world had witnessed the unbanning of the South African liberation movement and its ally, the South African Communist Party, and the release of some political prisoners, the foundations of apartheid remained intact.

11. The prisoners recently released from South Africa's prisons had simply been released into a wider prison, where blacks were forced to live in segregated, over-crowded ghettos, where they could not vote or stand for Parliament in the land of their birth, and where they could not send their children to the schools of their choice.

12. The struggle must therefore be intensified and the international community must continue to support the liberation movement until the rotten apartheid system gave way to a genuine non-racial, democratic society in which all could live together in harmony.

13. If there was unrest in the so-called "bantustans", that was because the political bases of apartheid were still standing and the dispossessed had rightly decided that they must be done away with by any means necessary. Before any negotiations with the régime could be initiated, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 allocating 13 per cent of the land to the African majority and leaving 87 per cent of it in the hands of the whites, the Bantu Education Act, the Tricameral Act establishing a parliamentary system along racial lines and the racist Population Registration Act must all go.

14. It should be noted that PAC did not make racial distinctions among the people of South Africa: all were Azanians, if they were loyal to the country and to Africa, and colour was completely irrelevant.

15. The current situation in South Africa had been reviewed recently at a wide-ranging consultative meeting held in Zimbabwe by the PAC Central Committee, the National Executive Committee of its military wing, the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) and representatives of mass and vocational organizations from inside South Africa. In a statement released after the meeting, PAC/PAM had declared that no basis currently existed for genuine negotiations, but that it was prepared to discuss the creation of a mechanism for establishing a constituent assembly through a non-racial electoral process based on one-person-one-vote, using a common voters' roll. That assembly would then have a mandate to decide on the important question of representation and to draft a new constitution. As long as President de Klerk opposed the establishment of such a constituent assembly, PAC had decided to intensify all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. The international community must also maintain its sanctions against South Africa, and step up measures to isolate it.

16. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana) said it was reassuring that the apartheid régime had publicly acknowledged that negotiation was the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just order in South Africa. The measures which President de Klerk had taken since the adoption of the General Assembly's recent Declaration on Apartheid had ushered in a new era of hope and co-operation.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

17. The subsequent release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners fell short of one of the measures prescribed in the Declaration as necessary for negotiations, however, namely the release of all political prisoners. Ghana believed that prisoners should be defined as political if the actions for which they had been imprisoned had been motivated by the eradication of apartheid, regardless of the nature of the offence. Other important requirements such as the removal of troops from the townships, the lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of all apartheid laws were yet to be met. The repeal of some emergency security regulations had not gone far enough, as could be seen from the police attacks on peaceful protestors and demonstrators in recent weeks.

18. Recent developments were thus not cause for euphoria. Events in South Africa suggested that the apartheid régime was feeling the isolation which sanctions had imposed and was buying time in order to maintain the structures of privilege for the white minority. Until those structures were dismantled and democratic rights accorded to the majority, the struggle in South Africa would continue. That struggle had reached such a delicate stage that it would be suicidal to entertain any notion of relaxing existing measures. The action taken by one Western country to lift voluntary sanctions against South Africa could only be deplored. At the same time, the exemplary display of solidarity by the European Community and by the overwhelming majority of Member States in emphatically rejecting such a pro-apartheid stance was to be commended, as was the reassuring commitment of the United States and Japan to the measures imposed by the international community to pressure South Africa into totally eliminating apartheid.

19. Long-held privileges would not be surrendered easily. As it monitored the situation in South Africa, the Special Committee should meet more frequently and consult more widely in order to play an effective role.

20. Ms. ZINDOGA (Zimbabwe) said that the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners had not changed anything of substance, for the pillars of apartheid were still intact. The climate was not yet conducive to negotiations with the régime, whose President, one of the architects of the apartheid system, had yet to take all the positive steps necessary, such as the release of all political prisoners and the dismantling of the bantustans. The United Nations should therefore intensify its sanctions, regardless of the position taken by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. There were actually moves afoot in the United Nations to restore South Africa to its seat in the General Assembly. The Special Committee should work to nip such ideas in the bud, for only a democratically elected South African Government was entitled to a seat. Moves were also apparently under way to eliminate the item on South Africa's nuclear capability from the agenda of the Disarmament Commission, and the Chairman should investigate that as well.

21. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic) said that, despite the joy over the release of Nelson Mandela, it was disappointing that South Africa was not yet ready to take all the other steps needed to create a climate for negotiations as called for in the Declaration on Apartheid. Until that Declaration and its programme of action were implemented fully, there should be no easing of pressure.

22. Mr. OMAKI (Nigeria) said that his delegation was convinced that the Pretoria Government, without admitting it, was responding to the demands made in the consensus Declaration adopted at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. It therefore welcomed the measures taken so far, including the unbanning of organizations and the release of political prisoners, although much remained to be done to meet the requirements of the Declaration.

23. The sanctions against South Africa had played a vital role in fostering whatever progress had been made and should therefore be maintained. It was a matter of deep regret that one Member State had lifted, even partially, some of its sanctions against South Africa, a singular act that negated the consensus spirit of the Declaration on Apartheid and violated its clear stipulations. Most Member States had refused to lift sanctions until meaningful progress was made, and the international community must continue to be watchful while promoting in every way possible a peaceful settlement of the crisis in South Africa.

24. Nigeria was particularly concerned about collaboration with South Africa that violated United Nations sanctions. Two General Assembly resolutions, 44/27 I and 44/27 F, which it had supported, spoke for themselves, and their demands adequately addressed the issues being discussed under the second item on the agenda.

25. Mr. OLEINIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, despite the consensus adoption of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, there was no clear position on the part of certain countries as to the conditions under which sanctions could be lifted or relaxed. It was therefore urgently necessary for the international community to agree on a unified approach to the question of sanctions. The positive steps taken by the de Klerk Government must be evaluated objectively. The release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the national liberation movement represented a major victory for the people of South Africa, ushering in a new stage in efforts aimed at the speedy elimination of apartheid through negotiations. They also provided convincing proof of the effectiveness of sanctions.

26. Nevertheless, the steps taken by the Pretoria régime had only partially met the conditions laid down in the Declaration for beginning negotiations. Relaxing sanctions at that stage would be, at the very least, politically short-sighted and would weaken the position of the representatives of the oppressed people at future negotiations. Even the complete fulfilment by Pretoria of the conditions for beginning negotiations could not be considered sufficient grounds for lifting sanctions. The position of the national liberation movement and the strategy agreed upon at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly for eliminating apartheid must remain the guiding principles for international action. Any steps taken by individual countries might seriously undermine efforts by the international community to eradicate apartheid. In that connection, it might be appropriate for the Special Committee to call upon Member States to adhere strictly to the terms of the Declaration and to ensure that there was a single, concerted policy on relations with South Africa.

27. Mr. SHAHEED (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the efforts of ANC, the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid, had been a factor in the release of its leader, Nelson Mandela, and that together they should continue to defend their cause until it triumphed. Syria, one of the first countries to have boycotted South Africa and to have drawn attention to the link between the struggles of the Arab and the South African peoples against racism, hoped that both peoples would soon have cause to rejoice. On his release from prison Nelson Mandela had rededicated himself to all facets of the struggle, including armed struggle, and ANC had declared after his release that there could be no dialogue under a state of emergency and pressure from the police.

28. Both the South African and the Zionist racist régimes were being helped by forces that claimed to champion freedom but were not defending the rights of the peoples involved.

29. Justice and freedom were indivisible. In occupied Palestine, many freedom fighters had been in prison as long as Nelson Mandela, and many had become martyrs to their cause. They were therefore his natural allies in the struggle against racism. Mandela himself was still not free, because he and 30 million of his countrymen still lived in the wider prison of apartheid. Those 30 million, the overwhelming majority of the population, held only 13 per cent of the land and while constituting 97 per cent of the labour force earned only 10 per cent of the national product. International corporations were still powerful in South Africa and the decision to release Nelson Mandela had not been the result of any compassion on their part but rather the result of the régime's difficulties. The racists in South Africa could no longer effectively contain the popular revolt, but they still hoped to retain their privileges. In those circumstances, Mandela's release must be considered only a beginning, and the international community must continue to support sanctions. The Arab countries, in particular, would welcome a victory against apartheid, because that would mean victory against those régimes that were collaborating with the Zionist entity.

30. Mr. BUDAI (Hungary) said that he saw new hope for a negotiated settlement to the conflict in South Africa. The decision of the African National Congress to meet with Mr. de Klerk showed that a new era was opening up. Despite all the obstacles, an increasing sense of responsibility and tolerance seemed to be emerging. He therefore hoped that responsible politicians would negotiate an end to apartheid and build a society that was free of discrimination.

31. Mr. MIMOUNI (Algeria) said that the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political parties in South Africa were positive developments and that the Committee must consider how to respond to them. Those developments should lead to greater pragmatism and the Committee must make sure that they were not used by South Africa to distract it from still unresolved tasks. One must not be deceived. The policies of apartheid were still in force and any positive developments were simply a response, in the form of only partial reforms, to international pressure. That pressure must therefore be maintained and sanctions upheld. The release of Nelson Mandela and the legalization of political organizations could be meaningful only if all political prisoners were released and

(Mr. Mimouni, Algeria)

apartheid was ended. The Committee must therefore intensify its activities until those objectives were achieved and justice, equality and the principle of one-man-one-vote were guaranteed in South Africa.

32. The CHAIRMAN, in a concluding statement, said that the Committee had noted that the winds of change had finally reached South Africa and that, with its recent measures, the de Klerk Government had shown some signs of realism. The Committee was still concerned, however, that the apartheid system remained intact, and felt that pressure must be exerted to eliminate that system and all related discriminatory legislation as soon as possible. The Pretoria Government must release all political prisoners, allow the safe return of all exiles, lift the state of emergency, remove troops from the townships and repeal repressive legislation. The Committee felt that it was premature to end sanctions because they were the most effective and peaceful means available to the international community to eliminate apartheid. The Committee therefore called on those who had considered lifting sanctions to refrain from doing so until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in South Africa. If he heard no objection, he would take it that that procedural decision was adopted and that the Committee also decided to keep the situation in South Africa under constant review and to meet again when the need arose.

33. It was so decided.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

34. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee continued to monitor co-operation between Israel and South Africa, particularly co-operation in the military and nuclear fields which was a matter of special concern not only to the Committee but also to many Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. He recalled that the General Assembly had adopted a resolution demanding that Israel end all forms of co-operation with South Africa. He further recalled that the United States media had revealed details about Israeli-South African collaboration in developing and testing a medium-range missile and that the Committee had subsequently expressed its concern and condemned such collaboration. The Committee had urged the international community to support effective international action against all military collaboration with the apartheid régime.

35. Mr. SHAHEED (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the United Nations had repeatedly condemned racism and racial discrimination and had urged all States to have no relations with South Africa. That régime survived, however, because of the support it received from régimes that violated sanctions and flouted international opinion, especially régimes such as Israel which pursued a similar policy of racial discrimination. The Zionists' relations with South Africa predated the very existence of Israel and could be traced back to the period of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The ties between Israel and South Africa had developed gradually, because the two régimes pursued similar policies and had both been isolated by the international community. Both régimes were based on the doctrine of racial superiority, whether under the rubric of "white superiority" or "the

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

chosen people". The alliance between the two régimes was a product of the structural similarity between them, a similarity that was rooted in colonialism. The United Nations had equated zionism with racism. Zionism and apartheid also had common roots with nazism.

36. The long tradition of collaboration between zionism and South Africa had been strengthened in 1969 by the visit of Zionist leaders to South Africa and in 1976 by the visit of the Nazi Vorster to Palestine to meet top Zionist leaders and cement relations between the two régimes. On that trip Vorster had also visited military installations, expanded existing co-operation between the régimes and moved to develop their nuclear collaboration.

37. The two régimes were bound by close diplomatic ties and mutual diplomatic support. The Zionist régime flouted international decisions and resolutions designed to combat racism in South Africa, and its support of racism was manifest in its United Nations voting record not only on South Africa but also on decolonization, Namibia and the withdrawal of South Africa's credentials.

38. Despite claims to the contrary, the Zionist entity carried on extensive and well-documented economic co-operation with South Africa, the most dangerous form of which was military, including nuclear and missile, co-operation. That co-operation covered a vast array of weaponry and military technology and included manufacturing licences, construction design and the provision of military experts, all designed to bolster South Africa's repression of its black majority and its attacks on the front-line States.

39. Zionist doctors had been seconded to South African military hospitals on the Namibian front, which Ariel Sharon had visited in December 1981. The South African Government had also deployed Zionist military equipment in the southern African region.

40. For its part, the racist Government of South Africa had sent many South African mercenaries to Israel in 1967 and 1973 and had provided considerable financial assistance and equipment, including Mirage aircraft, at that time.

41. Reports indicated that the two régimes had co-operated in developing a medium-range missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads which had been tested in July 1989 in South Africa. The régimes had also agreed to smuggle American technology into South Africa; in return, South African uranium would be shipped to Israel and that country would be provided with missile-testing space near Pretoria.

42. According to recent reports, weapons projects totalling $30 billion were being carried out in plants in occupied Palestine with financing from Pretoria. The two most important plants were located at Beersheba, where work was being carried out under the supervision of the Zionist aeronautics industry. That effort had produced the Jericho missile, with a range of 700 kilometres, and the Jericho II, with a range of 1,200 kilometres. The latter could be equipped with nuclear warheads, currently being produced in Israel. The Government of South Africa had test-launched a medium-range missile with the help of the Tel Aviv régime.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

43. Co-operation in the nuclear field between the two régimes, both of which had refused to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty, posed a serious threat to Arab and African security. That collaboration had become an issue of international concern when information contained in studies conducted by the United States Department of Defense and the CIA had been revealed on the American broadcasting network NBC in October 1989. Had those studies not come to light, it was likely that that co-operation would have remained a secret, since it was supported by certain States and tacitly ignored by others.

44. Obviously, the arsenals assembled in both South Africa and Israel reflected the aggressive character of the two régimes. Unfortunately, the racists had no qualms about using nuclear weapons and destroying themselves along with their enemies. The provision of missiles and nuclear weapons to South Africa with assistance from Tel Aviv only escalated tensions in South Africa, with major repercussions for international security. Such actions tended to impede discussion of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa and violated the 1963 declaration by the Organization of African Unity on that subject, a declaration which had been endorsed by the United Nations. He drew attention in that connection to the remarks made by the President of Zimbabwe during the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly.

45. While the international community was in agreement about the seriousness of the close ties between the two racist régimes, it should not merely express concern at the situation but must address the matter in the Security Council with a view to adopting concrete measures. Sanctions had been successfully imposed against South Africa, and the time had come to impose them against the other racist régime as well. One of the most important duties of the United Nations was the implementation of its Charter in order to deter aggression and racism, two hallmarks of the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes.

46. Imperialism had made those régimes formidable military Powers, as though they had been singled out as a force for repressing Arabs and Africans. In the face of that situation, Arab-African solidarity had become imperative.

47. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana) said that discussion of Israel's collaboration with South Africa was most appropriately broached within the context of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, in which Member States had set themselves the task of taking concerted and effective measures to bring about a speedy end to apartheid.

48. Israel's collaboration with South Africa had been acknowledged in 1987, when the Israeli Parliament had adopted new policies to limit its scope. While evidence of such collaboration had often surfaced, the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic was to be commended for the wealth of information he had provided in that regard. It was to be hoped that the Centre Against Apartheid would publish his statement in order to inform the international community about such collaboration.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

49. Israel had not only collaborated with South Africa in the past, but was continuing to do so to an ever greater extent, thereby negating the measures taken by the international community to pressure racist South Africa into eradicating apartheid. In addition to the military and nuclear fields, Israel and racist South Africa collaborated in economic and trade sectors, in the suppression of dissent and in frustrating the struggle for human dignity. In mid-1989, it had been learned that Israel and South Africa had established storage facilities in Israeli ports so that South African coal could be sold to countries that had imposed an embargo against trade with that country. Such collaboration demonstrated the extent of Israel's commitment to maintaining apartheid. Likewise, in handling the intifadah, Israel had sought guidance from South Africa's handling of uprisings such as those at Soweto.

50. His Government deplored any relaxation of pressure on South Africa and unreservedly condemned any form of collaboration with the racist régime that would perpetuate apartheid in South Africa. His delegation regretted that the Israeli Government had failed to live up to the pledge it had made to the international community in 1987. Israel was the only country in which economic, military and cultural links with South Africa were not discouraged by the Government, but were taken for granted. It was therefore fitting that the Security Council should continue to monitor the situation with a view to taking appropriate measures.

51. Mr. PIETERSEN (Observer, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) commended the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his lucid statement and welcomed the additional information supplied by the representative of Ghana. His organization continued to deplore the collaboration between Israel and South Africa, which should be condemned by all peace-loving people in the world.

52. As a victim of apartheid, he sought to refocus attention on the victims of zionism. Accordingly, he wished to convey his organization's revolutionary greetings of solidarity to the Palestinian brothers and sisters who suffered from that collaboration. The Committee would recall that Palestine had been handed over to international zionism by British colonialism under the infamous Balfour Declaration. British imperialism had done the same for the white settler minority in South Africa. Political and military collaboration between South Africa and Israel should therefore surprise no one, since zionism and apartheid were merely two sides of the same coin which had been minted in Britain.

53. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania had consistently supported the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination and believed that the people of Azania, along with the Pan Africanist Congress, were waging a common struggle with the Palestinian people, although in different trenches.

54. The military and nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa posed a grave threat to international peace and security, and he called on the international community to take international action to end it.

55. Mr. OLEINIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that many years of efforts by the international community had resulted in the policies set out in the Declaration of the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. The ongoing co-operation between South Africa and Israel was a problem of particular concern. The Special Committee had given much consideration to South Africa's foreign relations in many areas, in keeping with its mandate. The current build-up of military forces and technology and instances of violations of the arms embargo gave cause to believe that the situation was worsening. Such co-operation undermined efforts to eradicate apartheid, and his delegation urged all countries to comply fully with the aforementioned Declaration, which emphasized the need for full observance of the military embargo against South Africa.

56. Ms. ZINDOGA (Zimbabwe) welcomed the informative statement delivered by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic and reiterated the appeal made by the representative of Ghana to have it translated into the official languages of the United Nations and circulated. As a result of Israel's collaboration with South Africa, the people of the southern African region, like the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, lived in perpetual fear of annihilation.

57. The CHAIRMAN said that the statement by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic would be circulated by the Centre Against Apartheid. He suggested that the Special Committee should keep the subject of Israeli's collaboration with South Africa under review and return to it whenever it deemed necessary.

58. It was so decided.

59. The CHAIRMAN said he hoped that the substantive discussions held at the current meeting would serve as guidance for the future deliberations of the Special Committee.

60. Mr. BELLINA (Peru) asked whether the statement by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic could be circulated among Committee members before it was distributed generally.

61. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana) said he hoped that the request by the representative of Peru was not intended as a means of securing the Committee's approval prior to issuance of the statement.

62. The CHAIRMAN said that the statement by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic would be reflected in the summary record of the meeting, which would be drafted by the Secretariat. There was no need for its contents to be approved by the Committee. However, the Centre Against Apartheid would issue the full text in accordance with the proper procedures.

63. Mr. BELLINA (Peru) said that his proposal had not been intended to give Committee members the opportunity to criticize the statement, but merely to allow them to read it in advance.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.